

X

# CERTAIN CONSIDERATIONS

Tendered in all humility, to an Honorable  
Member of the *Conncell of State*,  
*Aug. 1. 1649.*

- Concerning {
- I. *The Discontents of the People.*
  - II. *Opprobrious Speeches against Government.*
  - III. *Pasquils and Pamphlets.*
  - IV. *Invectives out of the Pulpit.*
  - V. *Eaves-droppers, Whisperers, or Informers.*

Wherein is represented the Opinion and  
Practice of many the most eminent *Statesmen*, in  
relation to these Particulars.

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By *Marchamont Nedham*, Gent.

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HORAT.

*Vim temperatam Dii quoque provehunt  
In majus.*

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L O N D O N.

Printed in the Yeare, 1649.

XX

# CONSIDERATIONS ON THE NATURE OF THE HUMAN MIND

By  
J. LOCKE

In answer to the  
Objections of some

of the Learned

of the University of the City

of London

By  
J. LOCKE

Of the University of the City

of London

Printed in the Year 1690

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XX

The P R E F A C E.

Honoured Sir,

**B**Eing very sensible of my sad suffering  
(after six Weekes imprisonment) upon  
suspicion of being the Author of Mercuri-  
us Pragmaticus; and finding that many o-  
thers have been, and may be, imprisoned upon  
the same Accompt, or the like, for scandalous  
Pamphlets, I thought meet (having little  
else to do in Prison) to descend somewhat in-  
to the nature of my supposed Crime; which  
I judged might be best understood out of the  
monuments of History and Policy.

And my thoughts being thus farre ingaged,  
other Particulars (not differing in Specie  
from the former) came unawares into my  
view, viz. the present discontents of the  
People, with those bitter Arrowes shot out  
of mens Mouthes, and Pulpits: whereto I  
A 2 have

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have added a briefe Lant-skip touching  
VVhisperers, Informers, &c, as being my  
selfe brought under the Lash, and persecuted  
by that unworthy Generation.

Concerning all these I have taken the bold-  
nesse to Treat, in an indifferent manner, in re-  
lation to your selfe, and others, who sit at the  
Helm: And though it were extream arro-  
gance in me, to instruct your wisdom (who am  
my selfe of but few yeares, and small experi-  
ence;) yet since what I shall deliver, is deri-  
ved from the best Opinions and Examples, I  
am the more confident in my Designe: not as  
if you knew not these things already; but only  
out of a desire to be your Remembrancer, in  
what may be partly convenient to procure the  
Weale and Peace of the Nation.

I. Con-

# I. Concerning the Discontents, and turbulent Humours of the PEOPLE.



Of alterations of Government have been attended with strong oppositions, discontents, and bitterness of the people; especially when they enjoy not those Benefits promised, or expected, by a Change of their *Governors*. It is not in their Power to consider the Circumstances of Reason; nor to weigh the grounds of a necessity, which may constrain *Governors* to lay burthens on them for the present, to purchase ease in the future; but for the most part being led by *sense*, they cry out when the shoe wrings, and will not have patience to attend the tedious remedy and Cure of grand Inconveniences.

To allay these, and gaine Them, it hath been the way of new *Princes* and *States*, not to be too rigid in their exactions of obedience, &c. but (as <sup>(a)</sup> *Ulpian* saith) *conniventibus oculis agere*, to wink at small faults, and let them have their humours for a time. So did *miss*. that King of the *Macedonians* spoken of by *Livie*. *Non quia probaret*, *sed quia in nova possessione regni patienda omnia essent*, *passum*. Not because he approved what he tolerated, but because there ought to be a generall Toleration in a new government. Thus *Tiberius*, though he were a most strict exactor of the disciplin of the Lawes, yet durst not be severe in his first essays of government, knowing that too sharp remedies would have multiplied Distempers. And this is noted by *Tacitus* concerning *Felix*, *eum nimis remediis Delicta accendisse*, that the minds of Delinquents were rather inflamed than restrained by his harsh dealings: And by the same means *Livy* saith of *Marcius*, *Remedio seditionem irritasse*, that he exasperated the People to Sedition. But on the contrary, most memorable is that Place of *Livy*, concerning the Carriage of the People of *Rome*, upon alteration of the Kingly Government; That though they groaned under many Pressures and Calamities, yet being cherish'd by the Indulgence, prudence, and easie government of the Senat, They grew sensible of Liberty, and so Zealous and unanimous in the defence of it, ut regium nomen non summi magis quam infimi horrent, that the very name of King was odious among Them, from the highest to the lowest.

It was excellent Counsell which *Livia* gave to *Augustus*, *Novum principem*.

*principem imperandi auspiciū facere debere à clementiâ*, That a new Prince ought to commence his Reign with Clemency; and the reason why *Mithridates* so soon lost himselfe is noted by *Tacitus*, *Eum atrociorē fuisse quàm novo regno conduceret*, because he behaved himselfe with more violence, than was meet for one that had but newly become master of a Kingdome. Nor doe I find any one of the contrary opinion, but onely that \* *Florentin devill*, who broached so many wilde *Maxims* to countenance the Cruelties, and Inhumanities of his *Borgia*. The furious beginning of *Rehoboams* Government occasioned that revolt of the *ten Tribes*, which made the great *Rent* betwixt *Israel* and *Judah*; and this through the Counsell of some *hot Heads* about him, contrary to the judgement of his Father *Solomons* old Counsellours, who advised, saying, *If thou wilt be a servant unto this people this day, and wilt serve them, and answer them, and speak good words to them, then they will be thy servants for ever*. There are (saith *Cicero*) certaine extravagances to be tolerated in a new Government, which he calls *popularia munera*, to oblige the People. For (as *Aristotle* saith in his *Politiques*) *Hinc fit, ut Plebs presentem Reipublica statum amet, siquidem plerisque lubet dissolutè vivere quàm modestè*. The common people are naturally of a loose disposition, so that if they may enjoy a kind of dissolute liberty, they like the present state of Government whatsoever it be.

And for this we have the practice of the wise *Augustus*, as soon as he attained the *Empire*; who to indear himselfe to the People, gratified them with large Immunities, Ease, Plenty, Pleasure, Sports, Pageants, and open Theatres; at which (*Tacitus* tells us) he was wont to shew himselfe among them in publique. And when upon the advice of his more rigid *Civilians*, he was minded to alter this licentious Custom, the noble *Mecenas* was of another minde, and stopt his Resolution, saying, *Expedi tibi, Caesar, plebem sic occupatam esse*, It much advantages thee, O *Cesar*, so to busie the mindes of the People. Let them be charmed with such Arts of indulgence, and have wherewith to satisfie their appetites, then they no more remember their former state, but every one sits down content with his present condition, and according to that of the *Satyrist*,

————— *Duas tantum res anxius optat,  
Panem, & Circenses.* —————

Fair words, gentle carriage, and a reputation of Clemency are of more force (saith one) for the taming of turbulent spirits in a new Common-wealth, \* than Prisons, Forfeiture of Goods, Banishment,

\* *Machiavel.*

1 Kings cap. 12.

Lib. 6. pol. c. 4.

*Tacit. Annal. 1.*

*Juvenal.*

\* *Plus valent,  
Et quàm carcer,  
honorū confiscatio,  
proscriptio,  
virga, denique  
& Securæ.*

ment, Bodily punishment, or Death it selfe. When the Mother of *Alexander Severus* stirred up his Wife to tax him of too much lenity, and tell him, *ita molliorem tibi potestatem, & contemptibiliorem facisti*, that by it he rendred his Authority the lesse manly, and the more contemptible, he answered, *Sed securiorem atq; diuturniorem*, that it became thereby the more secure and lasting. *Camerarius* in the life of *Phil. Melancthon*, tels a story of *Everhard Duke of Wittenberg*, how he boasted in a solemn Assembly of all the Princes of the Empire; That he durst, even in a *Wildernesse*, trust himself asleep in the bosome of any one of his Subjects. Certainly love is the surest Guard of States and Princes; which is no way to be obtained but by gentleness & mercy, whereas severity sowes the first seeds of *Sedition & Enmity*.

*Multis terribilis caveto multos*, was the Advice of *Ansonius*; and it was upon this Ground *Cesar* broached that in *Suetonius*, *Præstat peria retinentur diu. Seneca.*

*femel mori quam cavere semper*, It is better to die once than beware ever. It was a saying of the Emperor *Rudolphus*, 1. recorded by *Boccalini*: *Severum & immitem me aliquando fuisse penituit; lenem & placabilem nunquam.* It hath often repented me of my Severity,

but never of my lenity: And that the latter is most convenient in turbulent Times, the same Author gives the Reason; *Civiles enim diffensiones mansuetudine & moderatione multo facilius, quam severitate & armis sedari possunt*; For, civill dissentions are far more easily quieted with meeknesse and moderation, than by Severity and force of Arms. *Anthony Perez* fol. 155. compares a new State full of *Malecontents* to a Tower founded upon *Quick-Silver*: From whence he inferrs the necessity of a fair and gentle Carriage to win such persons (if possible) or else (as *Guicciardin*\* observes) they soon grow desperate. Most excellent to this purpose is the Advice of *Tacitus* in *Agricola*; *omnia scire, non omnia persequi, nec panâ semper, sed sæpius penitentia contentum esse.* It behoves *States-men* to know all things, but not to prosecute all things, and to sit downe satisfied more often with the Repentance, than the punishment of an offender. And in another place of the same Author, *Non quicquid nocens reus pati mereatur, novo sub principe statuendum est: Adeo nonnunquam delicta nimis asperis remediis atq; suppliciis, magis magisq; augentur.*

It is not for new Princes to inflict punishments upon Offenders to the utmost of what they merit: For, so sometimes by such harsh dealings, they rather increase their number than suppress or amend Them. Wherefore *Jovius* saith, the same way must be taken to order an enraged People, as an unruly Horse: *Quoniam sicut peritus eques*

*Nec invisa Im-*  
*præstat peria retinentur*  
*diu. Seneca.*

*Odia Deus ni-*  
*mis vehementes*  
*impetuit; odere*  
*Cives.*

\* *Hypomnem.*  
*polit. nu. 56.*



Besoldus. in  
dissert. de arc.  
Rerumpub.

non semper & uno tenore fraenum stringit, aut calcaria subdit; sed saepe numero laxat, & veluti adnlando, palpandoq, quoquo versum ducis etiam ferocissimum equum atq, inhabilem. Sic viri prudentes in nova Republica laebem succussantem & ferocientem moderatè regunt, frano injecto, sed laxo; ne, si violento tractu reducant, Seipfos imperio excutiant. For, as an expert Horse-man doth not alwayes rein, or spur, a metled Horse; but now and then gives him head, and at length, as it were by soothing, and stroking gently, can guide him which way he please, though wild, and skittish. So ought prudent States-men to order a mutinous & seditious People in a new Republique, with meekness and moderation; bridling them with Laws, but somewhat loosely, lest by reining them too hard, they hoist themselves out of the Saddle.

From whence it's to be inferr'd that in new Common-wealths, new Lawes ought to be as the Bridle and the whip, to restrain disaffected persons, and hold them under the Lash: But they are not to be put in execution, save where absolute necessity requires; and then not in the extremity neither; especially in this Common-wealth of England, so full of men of generous spirits and education, in whom severe and rigid exactions and executions would now raise the greater spirit of opposition, since they look upon their present Lords and governors, as those who of late were but their Fellow-Subjects. But above all things they ought to beware of declaring *high Treason* in too large a Latitude, which should be stretch'd to none but Crimes of the highest nature, since (as Tacitus speaks) *Majestatis Crimen omnium accusationum Complementum esse debet*, the Crime of Treason ought to be the utmost of all Accusations. And Curtius saith, *Turpe esse, imò non videri è re principis, vel publici patriæ, Crimen majestatis ad minima & ridicula quaq, reduci*, It is very impolitique, and beneath the Majesty of a Prince, or publique Father, to reduce the meanest and most triviall matters within the compasse of Treason.

But some may say, what course is then to be taken? I answer to this, there can be no better Counsel, than that of Alexander in Curtius, *In novo et precario Imperio, adhuc jugum rigidà cervice subeunte populo tempore opus est; dum mitioribus ingeniis imbuuntur, & efferas mollior consuetudo permulcet*. In new and precarious Governments, which alway depend much upon the Love and Courtesie of the People, the cure of mutinous and disaffected Spirits must be a businesse of Time; and is not to be effected by Laws like Thunderbolts, but by the still small voice, the smooth oyle of gentle language, persuasive Admonitions and Declarations, hopes of mild government, pardon

Annal. 3.

Lib. 21

Lib. 6.



pardon to offenders, Acts of Mercy, with all arts of ease and Indulgence; which are so much the more excellent in the policie of a *Christian* Common-wealth, in that they favour of the Spirit of meeknesse, and may be derived out of the Doctrines of *Christianity*. I shall conclude this first particular with the saying of an excellent \* *Civilian*, out of *Dion. Halicar. lib. 6. num. 34. Quicquid est formidabile, id necessitate naturali maxime est omnibus exosum. At firmissimum est imperium, quod beneficiis, non suppliciis, subditos in Imperio continere solet: Illorum enim benevolentiam, horum timorem esse comitem.* Whatsoever is terrible must of necessity be hatefull to all. But that Government is most sure and lasting, which retaines the Subject in obedience with good turns, rather than punishments; the former being accompanied ever with love and good will; the latter with fear and hatred. And (as one saith) *Nemo potest esse fidus ei quem timet.* Feare is the very bane of *Allegiance*.

*Nemo est nomen daturus, nemo arma capturus, nemo dimicaturus in Republica, pro superbis Dominis.* Livius lib. 4.  
\* *Cunradus Rittershusius in thes. de Jure publico. Oderunt dum metuant.*

## II. Of opprobrious Speeches against Government.

**G**OVERNERS (especially Founders of a new Government) have never been free from these bitter arrowes: And though it be a hard matter for persons in power to digest such things; yet we shall find the wisest have ever entertained them with neglect and scorn, as unworthy their revenge or notice. Therefore the *Tragedian* sets down this for a Rule, *Ars prima regni posse te invidiam pati*, the chiefeft Art of Government is to be able to indure malice and envy. And most of the *Roman* Emperors were so far from controlling the licentious railings and revilings of the people, that they seemed rather to approve them. It was the Custome of *Cesar* (saith *Suetonius*) when such persons were brought before him, *Satis habuit pro concione denunciare, ne perseverarent*, to dismiss them onely with an admonition, that they should do so no more. And it is observable what *Livie* saith of them *Olim non appellabantur seditiosi, sed tantum novi Sermonis autores*; That of old time among the *Romans*, such persons were not characterised with so black a coal as the title of *seditious*, but were called Authors of new Rumors, idle *News-mongers*, &c.

When it was told the Emperor *Frederick 3.* that divers had raised vile reports, and cast out opprobrious words against him about the Court, he, nothing at all moved, made answer, *Principes & alios praestantes viros, quasi Signum ad quos omnes virulenta lingua tela conjicerent,*

*Seneca in Herc.*

*Suet. de Casare.*

*Liv. lib. 54*

*Jovius de vit. Imp.*

rent, expositos esse; ut turres praelias fulmina feriant, humilia praece-  
 unt testia. It is the common lot of Princes and eminent persons to  
 be ill spoken of, being set as a marke for every virulent tongue to  
 shoot at. But above all others, the Governors in a free City or State,  
 must bear with these things, and take heed of crossing the people in  
 this licentious humor: And of this opinion was the Emperor Tibe-  
 rius himself (as Suetonius reports of him) In republicâ, vel civitate  
 liberâ, linguam mentesq; liberas esse oportere, That in a Common-wealth  
 or free City, both the opinions and tongues of men ought to be free.  
 For (saith one) Quid plebi reliquum erit, adempto per inquisitiones lo-  
 quendi audiendiq; commercio. If you set Spies upon the people, and  
 deprive them of the liberty of hearing, speaking, easing and uttering  
 their minds to each other, then they reckon they have lost all  
 and so grow desperate. Wherefore Suetonius saith of the same Ti-  
 berius; opprobria in se & suos iacta, nulle ad cognitionem vocari; That  
 though he were otherwise a most severe and rigid Prince, yet he  
 would never suffer any to be questioned for reproaches against him  
 and his.

This Rule holds especially in every alteration of Government;  
 which though sometimes it may be for the better, yet the people be-  
 ing subjected to the inconveniences of a Change, which of necessity  
 brings on many grievances and pressures for the present, look upon  
 themselves as miserable, quasi libertate \* amissa, & cruda servitutem,  
 and reckon that they have lost their liberty. In this case they must be  
 tenderly handled: The Governors must in most things seem to say  
 as they say; And such language as is not fit for them to heare, they  
 must seem not to heare. For, as Justin saith, Plebi ut est natura lo-  
 quax; ita praeclare secum agi autumat, si possit linguâ ad criminandum  
 pro libidine uti. Quoniam rebus nequa ulcisci, verbis insinpare liberta-  
 tem cupit, The people are naturally full of tongue, and think they are  
 at a fine passe, if they may use it as they list against whom they  
 please. And when they are not able to revenge themselves by deeds,  
 they desire to take a liberty in words. Whereupon Tacitus con-  
 cludes, Lubricum linguae non facile ad poenam trahendum esse, that the  
 slips of the tongue are not ordinarily to be punished: And most excel-  
 lent to this purpose, out of the same Author, was that counsel of Au-  
 gustus to Tiberius, when he urged him to revenge certain vile reproa-  
 ches, Etati tua, mi Tiberi, noli hac in re indulgere, & nimium indig-  
 nari, quoniam esse qui de me male loquatur: Satis est hoc si habemus  
 ut quis nobis male facere possit. O my Tiberius (saith he) be not angry  
 that any should speak ill of me: It's sufficient we have power to hin-

Suet. de  
 Tib.

\* Tacit.  
 Annal. 1.

Justin. lib.  
 9.

Tac. lib. 7.

der them from doing us any ill. A *Governer* need not value words that hath the power of the sword; but ought rather to despise them, and acquiesce in his own merits, *consensus ipsa vi Imperii*. Suitable to this was that wise saying of *Laurence de Medicis* upon the like occasion, *loquantur illi, nos vero facimus*. Let them talk, but let us be doing. Curius. lib. 1.

### III. Concerning Pasquils and Pamphlets.

**T**He same neglective carriage ought to be likewise in respect of idle *Pasquils* and scandalous *Pamphlets*. There is, and hath been, in every Age *scripturandi pruritus*, a certain Itch of scribbling; and when *Governers* shall (as *Vitellius* did) enact Lawes against such scurrilous Productions, they give them a kind of Reputation, and make them the more sought after: and the judgment of *Tacitus* upon this Act of *Vitellius* is, that such Prohibitions have no other effect, *nisi alimentum fame*, but the magnifying the fame of the Authors. Very well (saith *Tacitus*) to this sence spake *Crematius*, in an oration to the praise of *Julius* and *Augustus* *Cæsars*. *Ipsæ D. Julius, ipsæ D. Augustus tulere illa, & reliquere; haud facile dixerim moderatione magis, an verò sapientiâ: nam spreta exolescunt; si irascere, aquita videntur*. The Emperors *Julius* and *Augustus* bore those things, and condemned them, with a world of moderation and wisdom: For, being slighted, few believe or regard them; whereas if you be angry at them, you seem to acknowledge what they write. Thus those wise Emperors behaved themselves; whereas *Nero*, by raging against the scriblers of his time, punishing them, and causing their Papers to be burnt, did but make himself the more odious, and multiply their number, and cause them to be held in greater admiration. To this agrees that other passage likewise in *Tacitus* upon this Act of *Nero*. *Punitis ingenio gliscit Autoritas; neq; aliud externi principes, aut qui eadem sevitia usi sunt, nisi dedecus sibi, atq; illis gloriam peperere*; the punishing of wits augments their reputation, and never did any Princes use them with the like cruelty, but they brought dishonor to themselves, and glory to them. Tacitus. Annal. 11.

If Emperors then allowed so great a liberty of writing and speaking, much more may it be expected in a free State and Common-wealth. Hence (saith *Suetonius*) *Rome & Athenis Comædia, Satyra &c. frequentes, & etiam in Triumphis summa dicendi licentia erat*. At Rome and Athens quipping Comedies and Satyrs were acted frequently

Floresta  
Espagnola  
par. 1. cap.  
1. num. ult.

Pierre  
Matthieu.  
fol. 103.

and openly, and even in the midst of their Triumphs, the People had liberty to say what they would of them. So *Floresta* likewise saith, *Roma species libertatis est licentia Pasquillorum*, At Rome the licentious custom of *Pasquils* is esteemed a kind of liberty: And this licence is to be reckoned *inter simulacra libertatis*; as appears by the policie of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, noted by *Matthieu in Sejano, qui talem libertatem permiserunt, ut respublica adhuc libera esse videretur*. Most pat to this purpose is that story out of *Jovius* concerning *Adrian* the 6. who being much troubled at the abuses of of a certain rythming *Pasquil*, grew exceeding melancholy, till he was recovered by the wisdom of *Ludovicus Sueffarius, à quo edoctus erat* (saith my Author) *eam maledicendi & scribendi licentiam obscurorum hominum, libertati atq; nequitia dari, ut cum insignes viros impune carperint, fortunam suam eâ vindicta cupiditate consolerentur*. I could have added a hundred Instances more, were it not that my design is now to write but a small Pamphlet, and not a volume to give in evidence against the vanity of Pamphlets; which I reckon far beneath my self, much more below the care and consideration of men in Authority.

#### IV. Of Invektives out of the Pulpit.

But as for *Invektives* &c: by way of Sermon, and such kinds of Prizes as are plaid in the Pulpit, under pretence of Religion, the case is far otherwise; nor were they ever tolerated by any prudent States-men: Because (saith one) *Quicquid offertur sub specie religionis &c.* whatsoever is delivered under a religious pretence, strikes an impression upon the soul, and through the ears sinks deep into the minds of the vulgar. *Hac, veluti thyrsos, percutiuntur mentes humanae* (saith *Tacitus*) *ut facile in ejus imagine, etiam falsa & simulata acquiescant*. By this mens minds are so charmd, that things though never so false and fained, find easie entertainment. *Bodin* writes, that the Southern Tyrans keep their vassalls in subjection by the mere force and pretext of Religion: And in this respect, as it is called the Binder of States and Kingdoms, or (as *Gaius* the Civilian calls it) *maximum remedium expediendarum actionum*; So if this pretext of Religion shall run in a Current contrary to the received Government, it becomes the Bane of any State or Kingdom: But especially in a free State, care must be taken to curb the licentiousnesse of Sermoning: For, as it is observed by *Besoldus* the Civilian, this very thing was the ruin of those

\* Tacit.  
Annal 6.

Besoldus.  
in dissert.  
de Arcan.  
Rerumpul.  
cap. 2.

those many flourishing Commonwealths in Greece.

Now then, if it hath been of such power to cause disturbances and ruin, in *States* of an ancient standing; much more speedy and fatall must the consequence needs be, in a *State* whose Foundation is laying, or but newly laid. And therefore in this case, very excellent was that custom of the *Romans* mentioned by *Cicero*, *qui nullam vim concionis esse voluerunt apud plebem &c.* who had a speciall care what *Sermons* were made among the people, and permitted none but what had the countenance and approbation of Authority. For, as *Papinianus* observed, so prevalent was any reason enforced under pretence of Religion, among the *Romans*, *ita ut omnia post religionem penenda civitas Romana duxerit, etiam in quibus summa majestatis decus voluit apparere*; that the City of *Rome* valued concerns of that nature, even before such as might advance the honor of the Empire. And this is observed likewise by *Valerius Maximus*.

*Cicero. pro Flacco.*

If I list, I could dis-embogue a cloud of witnesses and sad examples, to manifest the strange power of those *Pulpit-Politicians*; who, like the ancient *Demagogues* of *Athens*, or popular *Orators* in *Rome*, can chain the hearts of the people to their own tongues, and lead them by the nose which way they please, to the accomplishing of any design whatsoever. Look into *Germany*, *France*, great *Britain*, and generally all over *Christendom*, and we cannot want *Instances* both old and new, But the most famous one of all is to be fetcht out of *Italy*, from *Florence*, concerning one *Hierom Savanarola*, a Frier Pre-dicant; who so bewitched the People with his *Sermons* &c. and at length gained such a Reputation of Sanctity, and so many Followers, that taking Arms he drove out the *Medicean* Family, usurped the Sovereignty and Majesty of *Florence* to himself, and (if I well remember the story out of *Lipsius*) made a shift to maintain himself in possession, for the space of 12. months (or more) till his fraudulent Arts and pretences being discovered, he became odious and contemptible; and in the end being forsaken of all, the people returned to their Allegiance, and delivered him up as a *Traitor*. This is enough to shew, what prejudice a State may receive by pragmaticall and petulant Preachers: Therefore (for a conclusion) let me recommend the advice of a notable Politician; *Patricii adeo eorum loquacitatem ambitionemq; compriment, ut eis nullâ ferè aliâ de re, præterquam de morum corruptione, animarumq; salute, publicè verba facere liceat*; that *Governers* ought so to bridle the tongues and ambition of such *Preachers*, that they presume not to utter any thing in publique, save what concerns the corruption of mens manners, and the salvation of souls.

*Lips. in monit. & exemp. po-lit.*

V. Con.

V. *Concerning Eaves-droppers, Whisperers, &c.*

**I** Shall (in brief) discourse only of one particular more, and then I have don, viz. concerning that *Odium* Governors may bring upon themselves, by imploying such persons, which the ancient *Grecians* called *ἰσχυροὶ*; the Romans *Auricularii vel Delatores*; we in English, *Eaves-droppers, Whisperers, Informers, &c.* of whom *Tacitus* gives this Character, *Delatores* (inquit) *genus hominum publico exitio repertum*, that they are the very Pest of mankind. *Qua in re detesternus potius depertissimorum nebulonum fumos atq; fraudes; an vero principum insolentiam, qui hujusmodi amant, fovent, amplectuntur?* Concerning which sort of despicable and forlorn wretches (saith one) I know not whether be most hatefull; either their Fumes and Frauds, or the Insolence of those Princes and great persons, which love, cherish, and entertain them. By such as these (saith *Arrianus*) even good men were undone at *Rome*. *Hoc modo viri boni Romæ subvertuntur. Arridet tibi homo quidam &c.* Thus one comes, and sooths thee up, and entring into discourse as thy familiar friend, *de principe inelenter loquitur*, speaks amiss of the present Government, on purpose to under-fee thee: Then thou, supposing this to be a true Test of his temper, dost second him in the same kind of language, and deliverest all thy mind with confidence; *paulo post abductus lingua temeritatem morte hui;* and so in the end thou art brought to ruine.

Hence (saith *Polybius*) when such persons are sent abroad, *plena omnium suspicionum, & vix secreta domuum sine formidine*, every man suspects another, the very secrets of our Families are unsafe, nor dares any one trust his neighbor. At this wretched passe the City of *Rome* once was; and it is recorded by *Tacitus* in his fourth book, upon occasion of *Titius Sabinus* being accused by three *Senators*. The manner thus; Those three hid themselves before-hand in some secret corners of a certain room, whither they had appointed one *Latiaris* to bring *Titius Sabinus* and under-feele him in discourse; which being acted accordingly by *Latiaris*, *Sabinus* utters his mind to the full; and so the three *Senators* hearing all, went and accused him to the *Emperor*. Hereupon (saith *Tacitus*) *Non aliâs magis anxii & pavens civitas, etiam adversum proximos, Congressus, Collaquia, nota ignotaq; aures vicari; etiam muta atq; inanimes, tellum, & parietes circumspiciabantur*. So generall a fear seized the whole City, that the people durst not converse or discourse with their nearest friends and acquaintance, nor scarce trust the very stocks and stones, and searched

*Tacit.*  
*Annal. 4.*  
*Beſold.*  
*diſſert. de*  
*Arcaſis*  
*Rerum-*  
*pub.*

*Arrian. in*  
*Epictet.*  
*lib. 4.*

*Tacit.*  
*Annal. 4.*



searched the roofs and walls for fear of Treachery. *Quæ quid aliud sunt* (saith one) *quàm extrema dominationis Flagitia?* What greater tyranny can there be than this, so destructive of civill Conversation, which is the end of Governments, Societies, and Cities? What Ingredient more harsh, to inflame the rage of a people, than the countenancing and cherishing such pestiferous Creatures?

There are another sort of men which the Latines call *Lictores*; in English *Serjeants* and *Pursuivants*; but those more immediately attending the State are ordinarily called *Messengers*. These, if a great number, must all be maintained with what they can squeeze; and therefore upon the least pretence (guilty or not guilty) *all are fish that come to net*. Therefore it is the advice of a wise man, *ut in populari Statu Patricii multos Lictores habeant*, that in a free State there should not many of these Officers be permitted. This is seconded likewise by *Livy*, lib. 3. where he tells us, *Non putet Lictorum majorem propè numerum in foro conspici, quàm togatorum, aliorumq;* the Romans were not ashamed to have a greater number of these Officers, than of their Lawyers and Gown-men, attending their Courts of Justice.

A third sort of men there are, far more tolerable than either of the former, yea, and very necessary in a Common-wealth abounding with persons disaffected and seditiously inclined. The Romans called them *Speculatores*; *quippe erant veluti è speculâ principis*, saith *Suetonius*. They may in English, not improperly, be termed *Scouts* or *Informers*: And such *Suetonius* tells us the Emperor *Claudius* had always attending him, who pried abroad into the conditions of men, and the state of the Common-wealth; not to intrap or insnare any, and then accuse them face to face upon particulars, but only for the Princes private information in generall. These are farre different from those impudent *Auricularii*, or *Eaves-droppers*, who first betray, next accuse, and then aggravate under-hand with pretences and perpetuall *whisperings*, by these tricks abusing the ears of Authority, grieving the people, and making them quite out of love with their Governors.

And as it is most certaine, that they heap a world of hatred upon Governors; so it is very rare, that they bring them any benefit at all by their service: For, lest they should seem to be idle, or uselesse, they usually feed their Patrons with more frivolous matters and fopperies, than realities. Most excellent to this purpose are those words of *Ammianus* concerning these *whispering ear-wigs*; *qui paulatim eruditiores*

*Ammianus lib. 14.*



rudiores facti, processu temporis, ad nocendum, per clandestinos versu-  
tosq; Rumigeros, compertis leviser quadam ad ere malefustos, falsa &  
placensia sepe dicentes, artium nefandarum calumnias infontibus adfi-  
gunt. Indeed, it is the Custome of this kind of mercenary varlets, if  
they have but the least hint of matters, immediately to frame an ac-  
culation, bring a man in question, cast him into prison, and then rake  
every way for materialls to make good the Charge; and still to load  
the poor *Delinquent* (guilty or not guilty) with fresh calumnies, and  
the ears of Statesmen with high suggestions: And this, out of de-  
signe onely to magnifie their owne Service, that they may gaine the  
greater reward, with the more meritorious reputation. Of this hu-  
mor in such instruments, *Peironius* hath taken notice,

*Nec satis est vulgasse fidem; simulacris exis  
Proditionis opus, famamq; onerare laborat.*

And this I find is my own case at this instant, in relation to such  
secret *whisperers*, who serve their own ends, by making me the unfor-  
tunate Subject of many idle *Insinuations*. All which, with my  
selfe, and this brieft discourse, I most humbly submit to Con-  
sideration.

Sen. Tra-  
ged.

*Qui nil sperare potest, desperet nihil.*

**FINIS.**